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ABSTRACT

This paper is an analysis of behavioral texts (speech directed obligatorily to a second person in a communication situation) and a discussion of the persuasive devices employed by the speakers in an effort to effect a change in the listener's behavior. This study deals with two Eastern Bontoc behavioral texts. Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are described: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing, and indirectness. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion are described, including factors that necessitate the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc, mitigation devices used on different grammatical levels, and mitigation force. Texts are appended. (JP)

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Behavioral Discourse Strategy in Eastern Bontoc¹

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Abbreviations and symbols

0. Introduction

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Abbreviations and symbols

DU	dual
EM	emphasis
EX	exclusive
EXT	existential
GM	genitive marker
IM	inversion marker
IN	inclusive
LK	linker
NM	nominative marker
OM	oblique marker
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
Q	question marker
QM	quotation marker
RQ	rhetorical question

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¹ Eastern Bontoc is an Austronesian language classified as a member of the Central Cordilleran language family and is spoken in the municipalities of Bontoc and Barlig, Mt. Province, Philippines. There are about 8,000 speakers in five villages: Bayyu, Talubin, Barlig, Lias, and Kadaclan. Each village speaks its own subdialect of Eastern Bontoc. The data for this study is based on the Barlig dialect and was gathered during the summer of 1986, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Analysis of the data was done during a discourse workshop held by the same institute during September and October 1987 at Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, under the direction of Dr. Michael R. Walrod. Dr. Rodolfo Barlaan provided valuable consultant help.

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alternate related meaning
 compound gloss
 semantic/grammatical components
 glotal stop
 unknown gloss

O. Introduction

A behavioral discourse is one in which the communicator intends to exhort, give advice, persuade or give verbal discipline in an effort to change the behavior or beliefs of the advisee. A primary notional feature of behavioral discourse is that it is agent oriented (Longacre 1983:3-4); that is, speech directed obligatorily to a second person in a communication situation. If the communicator wants to gain maximum behavioral change, he needs to be aware of all the extra linguistic factors involved in the communication situation, as well as the linguistic devices available in the language. To accomplish this goal, he is required to make use of all available persuasive devices in the language. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the persuasive devices employed in the behavioral texts analyzed.

This study deals with two Eastern Bontoc behavioral texts (see Appendix). The first text is a conversation among several people advising a careless boy to save his money for wedding celebration expenses, and not to spend it on gambling and drinking. His aunt is the main one speaking to him, but his grandfather, older brother and younger sister are also at the scene and speak from time to time. The text was recorded and transcribed by *Alex Cotaran*, a native of Barlig village of Eastern Bontoc language area and the older brother referred to in the text. The second text was written by *Virginia Coyao*, a native of Barlig also. In the text she advises her peer group about the importance of sending children to school.

In behavioral discourse the communicator employs a strategy to gain maximum results. The strategy involves persuasive devices, which can be either nonlinguistic or linguistic.

1. Nonlinguistic persuasive devices

There are many persuasive devices in a language which help the communicator to achieve his aim of effecting a change in the behavior of the listener. According to the communication theory of Walrod (1988), most information is communicated by nonverbal means. This is especially true in behavioral discourse, since the purpose is not only to transmit information, but to effect a change in behavior as well.

Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing and indirectness.

1.1 Appeal to the cultural norm

Appeal to the cultural norm is a nonlinguistic device commonly used to effect a change in the behavior of the one being advised. Since a cultural norm is by definition a value shared by the people in a given society, it serves as a model for expected behavior. The adviser, by either implying or stating the norm, attempts to effect a change in the behavior of the person to whom he is speaking. Cultural norms are layered and can be arranged from most important to least important. Barlaan² considers the layering of cultural norms to belong to the linguistic domain, but I treat it as a nonlinguistic device since cultural norms are essentially nonlinguistic elements shared by a society. These elements are expressed in behavioral discourse, such as the two texts on which this paper is based.

In text 1 the most important cultural norm is the concept of shame. In text 1, turn 13³ when the aunt tells the boy that he should not embarrass his relatives, she is making quite a strong statement. In turn 19 (sentence 19e) she does this again when she says, "How shameful this is, if they said no one was

² Personal communication with him in 1987.

³ Numbers refer to conversational turns, while 13a, etc. in the text refer to sentence enumeration within a turn.

advising you children." Note that she resorts to "they" (referring to the people in general for her support), since shame functions as a cultural norm with and among the people. In turn 26 (sentence 26b) she again says, "Isn't it shameful if (when you box someone) others say, 'We belong to the same clan'?" In turn 66 (sentence 66a) she says, "...then what will they say?" Lastly, in turn 68 (sentence 68a) she says, "His mother does not advise him...; they will say." She continues in sentence 68b, "Then you cause (us) embarrassment." The aunt is very conscious of what the people say because anyone who does anything against the cultural norm of the community brings shame to one's family. Thus, conformity to the cultural norm of the community is very important. In essence, what the aunt is saying to the boy is, "Don't be an embarrassment to us."

Another cultural norm expressed in text 1 is the importance of marrying and having children. To multiply is good, and the continuing existence of the community is very important. From the beginning of the conversation the aunt brings up this norm. In text 1, turn 3 (sentence 3b) she says, "Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk?" The theme of marriage is followed throughout the conversation as shown in the following excerpts: turn 7 (sentence 7b) 'when you get married'; turn 11 (sentence 11b) 'for your wedding celebration'; turn 15 (sentence 15a) 'church wedding' and (sentence 15b) 'one pig from your wife's side'; turn 17 (sentence 17) 'whenever they get married'; turn 19 (sentence 19c) 'is there anyone (among the ladies)' and (sentence 19d) 'you get married...your wife'; turn 28 (sentence 28) 'we get married'; turn 34 (sentence 34a) 'you get married...after you marry'; turn 42 (sentence 42) 'when we (Bontocs) get married...a wife'; turn 44 (sentence 44) 'you get married'; turn 50 (sentence 50a) 'you do get married' and (sentence 50b) 'your wife'; turn 63 (sentence 63b) 'marry you'; and turn 66 (sentence 66a) 'you get married'.

The young man in text 1 is the appropriate age for marriage. It would be shameful to the aunt if he does not marry, since in the village only drunkards and gamblers remain single men. Because they have no children they are forgotten in the future, since no one remembers the names of dead relatives who never had any children.

A related cultural norm is that a married couple should have a wedding celebration. In the Eastern Bontoc area, marriage takes place when a boy and a girl agree to marry each other and begin living together. They do three other things after that; namely, obtain a marriage contract in the municipal hall, have a church wedding and have a native wedding celebration. These three can occur in one day, but in many cases there is a long time lapse between them. One can have a native wedding celebration after having as many as three children. With this event, the marriage is celebrated by the community and the married couple is remembered in the future, due to the impact the celebration has had on the whole community. Many couples feel ashamed if they do not have carabao, cows and/or pigs to butcher for this celebration. The main point of the native wedding celebration is to have people gathering and eating together. One of the main reasons that there is a period of time between when the couple agrees to marry and the native wedding celebration, is that they need to save money to buy animals for the celebration. Saving money can start even before the couple agrees to marry, but it definitely continues long after the agreement. Thus it is important for a man to work hard in order to save for his wedding celebration.

The least important cultural norm is to refrain from gambling and drinking. In many cases drinking and gambling go on all night, so the man indulging in these activities cannot work hard and save money.

In text 1 the more important cultural norms, such as conformity to the cultural norm of the community, marrying and having a native wedding celebration are presupposed. The exhortation points given by the aunt relate more to the outer norm, such as refraining from gambling and drinking, saving money and working hard.

In text 2 cultural norms are ranked: (1) being a good steward of one's money and (2) sending one's children to school (which requires money). The communicator states that it is more important to send children to school than to keep money. The advice is meant to appeal to the known and accepted cultural norm of the community in clarifying a perceived indecision.

1.2 Human relationship

Who is talking to whom is quite important in behavioral discourse, since the relationship between the speaker and the hearer decides whether the hearer should or should not listen to the advice of the advisor. He can ask himself:

- (1) Which one is more powerful?
- (2) Which one has a higher social rank?
- (3) Which one is older?
- (4) Which one has a debt to the other?
- (5) Which one is higher in blood relationship?

These questions are constantly in the mind of the speaker and hearer, and his assessment of the relationship influences his speech act. In text 1 the young man is surrounded by his aunt, grandfather, older brother and sister. They all have a higher standing than he does in terms of kin relationship, so this means that he must listen to whatever they say to him. For example, in turn 21 (sentence 21a) the grandfather refers to himself as "I, your grandfather" and in turn 23 (sentence 23) to the young man as "my grandson". In turn 26 (sentence 26c), the aunt refers to the young man as "children". In turn 48 (sentence 48c) she calls herself, "your parents". In turn 55 (sentence 55a) the older brother calls him "Fertig". A younger sibling never addresses his older brother in this way. In turn 58 (sentence 58) the aunt refers to the older brother as "this sibling of yours". Lastly, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) she again refers to the young man as "children". Since they all agree in what they say, pressure is put on him. In text 2 (sentence 2) the speaker is addressing her peers. In this way she avoids straight exhortations like those in text 1, but uses a group of supposed advisees instead.

1.3 Coaxing

In Eastern Bontoc the word *fialiyan* 'coaxing', which in this article means an effort to persuade using an argument, even if it may not be true. For example, in an effort to stop a crying child, a mother will promise to give candies (but she doesn't actually give them), or she may say that a policeman is coming (when he really isn't). This may not be for the Eastern Bontocs only. Mercado (1979:32) says about Filipino parents in general that parents promise a lot, but when promises are broken the child learns not to be disappointed. What is important is not whether it is a fact, but rather that it is a means of bringing persuasive force. In text 1, turn 30 (sentence 30) the aunt says, "When there is (a wake for) a dead person, then your boy companions and your girl companions indeed tell me about it", which may not be true. That is why the boy answers back in turn 31 (sentence 31), "Who are they?" The aunt doesn't answer the question of the boy, but accuses him for talking back. He then accuses the aunt of being a liar. In turn 34 (sentence 34a) the aunt says, "You cannot deny (that you are doing these things)", but she then goes on to talk about the marriage. Neither of them are trying to prove something; that is not their concern. She says in turn 5 (sentence 5b), "Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling." This again may not be true, but it serves as an exhortation, even if he isn't always there. Still, he is guilty of gambling, and this is what the aunt wants him to stop doing.

1.4 Indirectness

It is somewhat surprising that a young man like the one in text 1 actually does behave in due course of time, even though the exhortation seems weak. There are many young men who gamble and drink, but all of them do not remain that way for a long time. Sometimes the main purpose of a behavioral discourse is to remind or give hortation points/advice to the advisee. In the future, there may be a time when he will really think about the exhortation and decide to follow the advice given. In the last part of text 1 (especially after turn 61), the word *kikiad* 'responsibility/up to you' occurs frequently. In turn 61 (sentence 61d) the aunt says, "...you are the one who is responsible." She continues in turn 63 (sentence 63a) with the same word, which is translated 'you are responsible'. In turn 67 (sentence 67) the young man responds,

"It is up to us." Finally, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) the aunt says, "Now it is up to you." In turn 71 (sentence 71) the boy replies, "We are the ones who are responsible." It is clear that the aunt isn't trying to force the young man to agree, or to force him to promise that he won't gamble anymore. The aunt is satisfied when the boy says, "We are the ones who are responsible." It is shameful if the aunt really corners him, and proves that he really is a useless person. She avoids that situation, but rather is content to remind him what she really wants him to be like.

2. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion

2.1 The need to mitigate (make mild) commands in behavioral discourse

There are three factors which necessitate the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc.

The first factor is that Eastern Bontocs generally tend to avoid conflict/confrontation situations. Each village in the Eastern Bontoc area is surrounded by high mountains, and the distance between villages is very far. More than 90 percent of the people marry within their own village, so each village is a tightly knit society. Everyone knows who each person is related to, what each person owns, what events happened to each person, etc. If people have a problem in their relationship, they know that they will see each other from time to time, even after the settlement of the case. They also know that, if at all possible, it is wise to avoid any conflict or confrontation. The surface peace or harmony is quite important, even though there are hidden negative feelings. It is important for one not to show anger to others.

The second factor that necessitates mitigation is shame. Conformity to the expected cultural norm is the basic demand of shame. It is shameful if one is doing something different from the expected norm, because the people in the society are closely related to each other. Another reason is that it's a farming community, and in rice farming many activities need to be done together. So, it is a high value to maintain harmonious working relationships within this community. When a person feels ashamed, he doesn't want to see his fellow villagers or relatives. Since it is impossible to avoid others in such a tightly knit and crowded village, the best thing to do is to avoid bringing shame to oneself or to one's family/relatives.

The third factor that necessitates mitigation is shared knowledge. This is because of the previous two factors. Many things are unsaid, because the society already shares this common information. So, when you advise, it is better if your exhortation is implied, and is not a direct confrontation. The advisee will quickly get the point of the exhortation.

These three factors are the background for the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc. When exhortations are directly addressed to the advisee, it means that the adviser is angry and intends to break off their relationship. It also means that he doesn't intend to see the advisee again in his lifetime. So, in normal situations outside of one's own family, it is advisable to avoid unmitigated exhortation. When the nonlinguistic persuasive devices are fully utilized and the utterance is mitigated, the persuasive force is likely to be strong.

2.2 Mitigation in behavioral discourse

Mitigation is a linguistic device which enables an adviser to maintain a good relationship with his advisee, yet it accomplishes the desired persuasive result. This is done by replacing/changing parts of a constituent at different linguistic levels. The presence of cultural constraints demands the use of mitigation devices. In a given situation, if an unmitigated discourse will result in a broken relationship, one needs to resort to the mitigation.

2.2.1 Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels

Mitigation occurs on the discourse level, the episode/paragraph level, the sentence/clause level and the word level. In this section, I will discuss the strength of the mitigation force on each level.

2.2.1.1 Discourse level

Mitigation on the discourse level involves skewing of the intent and the discourse type by the speaker. The discourse type can be behavioral, narrative, expository or procedural. Manabe (1984:7-8) talks about

'authorial intent' and 'hierarchical structure of authorial intent'. His point is that even a narrative discourse can carry authorial intent in various ways. A story can be told that also includes a moral lesson. This is a common practice among the Eastern Bontocs. People tell stories to others in order to make the hearer do what they want to be done. In the first part of text 2, the story clearly carries an authorial intent. This is specifically used to stress the need for continuing education. The communicator regards the child as the point of reference by referring to the father in turn 3 as "his father", but the child is never referred to as "his child". Twice the communicator uses an indirect quote or indirect speech for the words of the child. In sentence 2 the communicator says, "Their child, he wanted to continue going to school." And in sentence 10 the communicator says, "...he said again that he would continue two more years." All the other speech act is a direct quote. That a child needs to go to school is the advice of the communicator to his audience, and the message reflected in the indirect speech is that they should send their children to school.

2.2.1.2 Episode or paragraph level

Mitigation on the episode or paragraph level is what Barlaan (during personal communication with him) terms global mitigation. Reordering takes place by reversing the order of the global or main constituents of a behavioral discourse. The basic notional structure of a behavioral discourse is: (1) projected circumstance, (2) command element and (3) support by argument (Fukuda 1983:151). In a mitigated discourse (see text 2), support by argument comes first, and then the command element follows (see sentence 22). Support by argument (see sentences 1-19) is an embedded narrative discourse, which is followed by a metaphor (see sentences 20-21). This metaphor is realized as a grammatical paragraph, and it is also part of the global mitigation. Instead of speaking directly, the speaker can use metaphors which indirectly convey his real meaning.

2.2.1.3 Sentence or clause level

There are many mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, such as, the rhetorical question. In text 1 there are many instances of rhetorical questions, which communicate the strong affirmative point of the communicator. A rhetorical question can be expressed in three ways:

- (1) Use of the rhetorical question marker in text 1, turn 3:

3b. *Ay way monlayad kan chitas fiafiarasang mo kon*
 Q EXT like OM us,OM ladies if only
fofotang chi kon?
 drunk NM only

3b. Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "there aren't any ladies who like you if you are always drunk".

- (2) The notionally rhetorical question uses a question marker, but no rhetorical question marker is used in text 1, turn 11:

11c. *Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?*
 Q EXT,LK PROG,I place.of.work

11c. Do I have a job now?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, you know that I don't have a job now", or, "I can't earn any money for you."

- (3) The notionally rhetorical question doesn't use the question word *ay*, but the rising intonation at the end of the sentence phonologically marks it as a question in text 1, turn 8:

8. *Kon lawa ichat?*
 only just give

8. Do I just give it?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, I won't give it."

A second device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level, is to express a notional exhortation with an exclamation sentence in text 1, turn 1:

1b. *Anan norpowain os!*
EM come.you now

1b. Now, where have you been!

The communicator knows that the boy has been drinking, and probably gambling. This is equivalent to saying, "You shouldn't come home drunk this late."

The third device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level is to express a notional exhortation by a statement sentence in text 1, turn 26:

26c. *Hiyasa nan nomnomon ay ongong-a.*
that NM think LK children

26c. That is what you should think, children.

In text 1 there are very few command sentences compared to rhetorical questions. And those command sentences are not the communicators main hortation point, but like the command in text 1, turn 34 (sentence 34b), "Listen!"

One other use of the statement sentence is presumed realization (Doty 1986:51). In text 1, turn 70 (sentences 70a-70b) the aunt says, "Now it is up to you children, if you insist on what you say. You must control your own thoughts." She talks as if the boy has already come to his senses, or that he has already agreed to do what she has been asking him.

2.2.1.4 Word level pronouns and particles are the two major mitigation devices on word level.

- (1) The basic mitigatory device on the word level, is for the pronouns to shift from second person orientation (either singular or plural) to first person orientation. It can also shift from second person singular to second person plural. In text 2, sentence 22 the communicator addresses the advisees by using the first person plural inclusive pronoun *tako*. Up until then the communicator did not identify herself, since she was just telling the story. She identifies herself as a parent by including herself with the first person plural inclusive pronoun. She says, 'that is what I say to all of us,IN parents'. After this she uses the same pronoun five times. This is to mitigate the command by including herself.

Also in text 1, the aunt uses the second person plural pronoun, although she is clearly referring only to the boy. This is to mitigate the command by including the friends of the boy, who aren't there at the time of the conversation. In turn 7 (sentence 7c) she says, 'you,PL work now... if you,PL do not keep it then give it to me'.

- (2) The second mitigatory device on the word level, is the use of some special particles. The Eastern Bontoc word *anaka*, which has a lexically zero meaning, is used when one cannot think of the right word. This word can take all the verbal affixes. But in text 1, turns 11, 19, 30, and 70 the word functions as a mitigory device to soften the command by giving an extra phonological pause. Another particle is *mampay* 'emphasis' used in text 1, turn 7:

7c. ... *mo achi you itopog mampay, ichat yon haon!*
if not you keep EM give you.OM me

7c. ...or if you do not keep it then give it to me!

2.3 Mitigation force

Mitigation devices used on different grammatical levels are described in section 2.2 . I propose that the mitigation effect is strongest on the discourse level, and it becomes successively weaker as it moves down to the word level. Intuitively, I like to think that a narrative story makes the most impact on the advisee. The grandfather's embedded expository discourse is well accepted by the boy (see text 1, turn 21), even though it has a hortation intent. The boy doesn't question the necessity of the wedding celebration, which the grandfather is trying to explain. Rather, the boy is questioning the very minor point of boxing on such an occasion.

When we compare the statement and the rhetorical question as mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, it seems that the statement has more force. For example, in text 1 the statement receives a positive response from the boy. As for the rhetorical questions, the boy doesn't negate the norm but responds in an indirect way.

In conclusion, mitigation isn't utilized on only one level. Text 1 has an embedded expository discourse, presumed realization, rhetorical questions and pronoun shifts. Text 2 has global reordering of the constituents structures, pronoun shifts and metaphor. Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels add to the strength of the mitigation force employed by the speaker to persuade the second person in a communication situation to change his behavior.

Appendix: Text 1

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1a. <i>Anan sorfiatam!</i>
EM foolish.you | 1a. How foolish you are! |
| 1b. <i>Anan norpowam os!</i>
EM come.you now | 1b. Now, where have you been! |
| 2. <i>Ya kakon man assa fiabroy!</i>
and well EM there poblacion | 2. Well, there at the poblacion! |
| 3a. <i>Kon fofotang chi kon mo.</i>
only drunk NM only you | 3a. You always get drunk. |
| 3b. <i>Ay way monlayad kan chitas fiafiarasang mo kon</i>
Q EXT like OM us,OM ladies if only
<i>fofotang chi kon?</i>
drunk NM only | 3b. Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk? |
| 4. <i>Ya kon inanowat at wacha challo!</i>
and only even.so IM EXT EM | 4. Sure there will be one! |
| 5a. <i>Oray wacha!</i>
even EXT | 5a. There is even (some-one who would want you)! |
| 5b. <i>Wacha os nan matoy, kiay oyka os nakisokiar.</i>
EXT now NM dead then go.you again gamble | 5b. Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling. |
| 5c. <i>Anan oyimo omer-a-or-an hi cha isokiasokiar?</i>
EM you get OM PROG money.to.gamble | 5c. How do you get the money you use for gambling? |
| 6. <i>Ya kakon tinob-okian.</i>
and well earn | 6. Well, it is the money I earned. |
| 7a. <i>Angkiay kon nan tinob-okian ya kon sokiar chi</i>
then only NM earn and only gamble NM
<i>mangeayam ya inomom?</i>
spend.you and drink.you | 7a. It is the money you earned, and are you spending it only for gambling and drinking? |

7b. *Kiay konpay mo omasawa ka ya tay ammok*
then when if marry you and because know.I

met ay wachay cham oy annon, yangkiay anan mo
EM LK EXT.LK PROG,you go court then EM if

omasawa ka, kiay nan etarakon mo?

marry you then NM take.care.of you

7c. *Ya tay adwani pay nan ... adwani ay onlagfo*
and because now EM NM now LK work

kayo, hiyachin cha mangitoptopokian hi aket hi
you that,NM PROG keep OM little OM

elagfowan onno mo achi yo itopog mampay ichat yon
earn or if not you keep EM give you,OM

haon!

me

8. *Kon "haya ichat?*

only just give

9. *Ya tay itopog ko.*

and because keep I

10. *Iyen-enom-at ta awni ta anaka mangasawa, haak-at*
drink so later so well marry then.I

cha itoptopog.

PROG keep

11a. *Ay awni?*

Q later

11b. *Angkiay anan anaka, elakom hi ichoyas*

then EM well buy OM things.for.wedding

mo?

your

11c. *Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?*

Q EXT.LK PROG,I place.of.work

11d. *Ay wachay cha monlagfowan ama yo?*

Q EXT.LK PROG place.of.work father your

12a. *Kias-an wachay ichoychoyas?*

necessary EXT,LK things.for.wedding

12b. *Kakon ominat-at chi osay manok ay ichoyas*

well enough NM one,LK chicken LK for.wedding

at osto chi.

!M good that

7b. Then when you get married, because I know that there is a lady you are courting, so when you get married then how do you take care of her?

7c. Yes, because...you are working now, you should save a little, or if you do not keep it, then give it to me!

8. Do I just give it?

9. Yes, so that I can keep it.

10. I just spend it for drinking, but when I get married in the future, that is the time I will keep it.

11a. In the future (you will save your money)?

11b. Then how do you buy what is needed for your wedding celebration?

11c. Do I have a job now?

11d. Does your father have a job now?

12a. Is it necessary to have something for the wedding celebration?

12b. It is acceptable to have only one chicken for the wedding celebration.

13a. *O, tay maid fia-in mos ib-am.*
yes because none shame your,OM relatives

13b. *Totoknom hinkaongam.*
foolish.you since.child

14a. *Ah-a.*
well

14b. *Kakon challo kon sorsoroton nan menaliyam ta!*
well EM only learn NM traditional.way EM

14c. *Oytan kiasto ... kakon*
we spend well

15a. *Kaskasin nan kastos henan adwani tay wacha*
more NM expense OM now because EXT
nan kaskasar ay oycha kankanan.
NM church.wedding LK their words

15b. *Ongor chi at ya tay mo ahnan pinos-oy kon*
much NM IM and because if OM old.way only
way osay fiafoy mo ay laraki ya wachay osay fiafoy
EXT one,LK pig if LK man and EXT,LK one,LK pig
chi asawam, hiyachi.
NM wife.your that

15c. *Senmorpon cha nan ib-am ya as*
bring.rice.bundles they NM relatives.your and OM
katorong as kaman ib-am, at achi cha met
help OM like relatives.you IM not they EM
epaafos chi!
demand.return that

15d. *Afosomto chi as kasin.*
give that OM future

16. *Iso ompay!*
right EM

17. *As omasaw-an cha os.*
OM marry they now

18a. *Mangisiw nan wachay ab-afon.*
evil NM EXT,LK give.back

13a. Yes, because you do not want to embarrass your relatives.

13b. You have been foolish from your childhood.

14a. Well.

14b. It is better to follow the traditional way!

14c. We will spend...hopefully....

15a. The expense now (for the wedding celebration) is much more because that is what they say the cost is for a church wedding.

15b. It is very expensive because in the traditional way there is one pig from the man's side and one pig from the wife's side, that is the way.

15c. Your relatives bring rice bundles as their contribution, and they will not demand that you give (pig meat) in return!

15d. That is what you will give them later.

16. That is right!

17. Whenever they get married (they will give it).

18a. It is bad to have a custom of giving something in return (at the wedding celebration).

18b. *Ta kon wacha kay chi monkasar, kiay iyoy chi*
 so only EXT EM NM marry then bring NM
sorpon?
 rice.bundles

18c. *Anan oyaka!*
 EM too.much

18d. *Pipiya pay chi osay manok ta kon ang-angkiay*
 better EM NM one,LK chicken so only only
kayo.
 you

19a. *Totoknom.*
 foolish.you

19b. *Anan nangor-am hi nomnom mos assesa?*
 EM get.you OM think your,OM like.that

19c. *Ay way monlayad kan hea mo hiyasa?*
 Q EXT like OM you if that

19d. *Ay awni-ta omasawa ka ya anaka katokiangam*
 Q later so marry you and well parents.in.law
chi manochon hea ya asawam?
 NM advise you and wife.your

19e. *Anoy kafiafiain na, kiay kenali cha on, maid cha*
 how shameful this then said they QM none PROG
itocho kan chakayo ay ongong-a.
 advise OM you LK children

20. *Ya wacha met!*
 and EXT EM

21a. *Wacha nan ifiakiak ay ap-r yo.*
 EXT NM tell.I LK grandfather your

21b. *Kanak on, libbing ay mo omasawa ta, wacha challoy*
 say.I QM right LK if marry we EXT truly
choyas.
 celebrate

18b. Because whenever there is a wedding, then rice bundles are brought (by the relatives)?

18c. That is too much!

18d. It is better to have one chicken since you are the only ones (providing it).

19a. You are foolish.

19b. Where did you get that idea?

19c. Is there anyone (among the ladies) who would like you if you are like that?

19d. Is it only after you get married that your parents-in-law are the ones to advise you and your wife?

19e. How shameful this is, if they said no one was advising you children.

20. Yes, there are those (who advise)!

21a. I, your grandfather, have something to say.

21b. I say that if we (Bontocs) get married, it is right to have a celebration.

21c. *Choyas ay kanan nan naoy ad pos-oy challo ta*
celebrate LK say NM this OM before truly so
mangayakian hinan masagsagkiang ay ap-o ya
call OM close.relatives LK grandfather and
chachakchakor. Ta way mangaliyan cha on, "Naoy
parents so EXT say they QM here
chakami am-in sa."
we all that

21d. *Wacha nan ab-abkor, kenali cha -on, "Aw ya*
EXT NM trouble say they QM no and
tay sakiang mi sa yat ta iyapa mi," winno, "Achi
because relative our that and so protect we or not
yo sodpakon, tay chakaini sa ay anaka hinfiaroy."
you box because we that LK well one.family

21e. *Hiyasa nan pagkiawesan nan choyas ay inlokin nan*
that NM better GM celebrate LK begin NM
kaap-owan ad pos-oy.
ancestors OM before

22. *Ya oray pay mo mafotangak at monsodpak ko nan*
and even EM if get.drunk.I IM box I NM
oomngos.
aggressive

23. *Ya mo oyka somodsodpak ya tay mangisiw*
and if you box and because evil
say apok.
that,LK grandson.my

24. *Mo ngay os oomngos cha ngay?*
if so again aggressive they so

25. *Aw, aminay mo kon ta naomos tay hiyana nan*
no good if only we patient because this NM
aminay ay tako ta!
good LK we EM

26a. *Angkiay ay, aminay chamman mo sodpakom ya as*
well LK good EM if box.you and OM
weet ya naap-apat winno as sang-achom ya
next.day and reconcile or OM third.day and
naap-apat ya chita challo ay hinfiaroy?
reconcile and we EM LK one.family

21c. People in the past called it a *choyas* (wedding celebration) when close relatives, who are grandparents and parents, got together. Then they said, "We are all here."

21d. If there is trouble, they will say, "Don't (do that), because that (person) is our relative and we protect him/her," or, "Don't box him/her, because that (person) and we are one family."

21e. That is the good side of wedding celebrations initiated by ancestors in the past.

22. Even so, if I get drunk, I box those who are aggressive.

23. Because if you go and box (someone), that is bad, my grandson.

24. How about if they are very aggressive?

25. No, it is good that we are patient, because this is how we can be good people!

26a. Well, is it good that if you box someone, then you reconcile the next day or the third day, because we are one family?

26b. *Ay achi kafiafiain kenali cha on, "Kon ta*
Q not shameful say they QM only we
montenanong?"
same.clan

26c. *Hiyasa nan nomnomon ay ongong-a.*
that NM think LK children

26d. *Naoy cha nan enaochein, ta mo laychon*
here they NM younger.sibling.your so if like
chay on-oswila, chicha at pay chi fiadfiadngam.
they,LK school them IM EM NM help.you

27. *Ya nangamong cha kayong os!*
and responsible they EM also

28. *Hiya ngon sa tit-iwa nan achi yo chomngoran, ham*
it EM that truly NM not you listen you
pay. Achim enpapas ay mon-oswila, tay haana-at
EM not.you pass LK school because then
enom mo ya nan sokiar mo nan cham
drink you and NM gamble you NM PROG,you
nomnomnomon. Tay kaman mo omasawa ta at
think because like if marry we IM
mangisiw.
evil

29a. *Nange! an pay nok nonsogsokiaran?*
see.you EM my gamble

29b. *Maid met!*
none EM

30. *Wacha nan matoy, angkiay ya anaka ifiakian challo*
EXT NM dead then and well tell truly
nan ib-am ay fiarfiaro ya nan ib-am
NM companion.your LK boys and NM companion.your
ay fiarfiarasang.
LK ladies

31. *Ngachana pay?*
who EM

32. *Ay kias-in sansanam ta kanam on, "... toymno*
Q again clarify.you so say.you QM you
sokonon?"
answer.back

26b. Isn't it shameful if
(when you box someone)
others say, "We belong to
the same clan?"

26c. That is what you
should think, children.

26d. Here are your
younger siblings, so if you
want them to go to
school, they are the ones
you should help.

27. And they are also
responsible (to attend
school)!

28. That truly shows that
you do not listen to ad-
vice. That is why you did
not finish school, because
this drinking and gam-
bling is what you have
been doing. Because if we
get married now (while
you are doing all these
things) it is bad.

29a. Where did you see
me gambling?

29b. Nowhere!

30. When there is (a wake
for) a dead person, then
your boy companions and
your girl companions in-
deed tell me about it.

31. Who are they?

32. You wrongly clarify so
that you will say, "...why
do you answer back?"

33. *Ya hiyasa os nan mangaliyak on, "Kotom mo os."*
and that also NM say.I QM tell.a.lie you also

34a. *Aw ... ohhhhhh ... achim man mafialin man he oy*
no well not.you EM can EM OM go

esassaot, tay mangisiw mo anaka omasawa ta,
deny because evil if well marry we
yangkiay ya hiyasay cha at-at-aton, mo omasawa ta.
then and that,LK PROG do if marry we

34b. *Chongrom.*
listen.you

35. *Kon met hiyahiyasa gamin nan chayo kanakanan*
only EM same EM NM PROG,you say

on, wacha kay chi matmatoy on, wachaak hid-il!
QM EXT EM NM dead QM EXT,I there

36. *Ya o met!*
and yes EM

37. *Ya maichak met!*
and none.I EM

38a. *Anan mangesaotam?*
well deny.you

38b. *Haka pay maawniawni komatam!*
you EM late come.home

39. *Achi met a, tay wacha challo nan agkiam*
no EM EM because EXT truly NM sleeping.house
mi.
our

40. *Chongrom kay tay kon wacha challo nan cha*
listen.you EM because only EXT truly NM PROG

kanan, kiay chaka somongfiat ya!
say then you answer.back EM

41. *Ay chod man?*
Q where EM

42. *Ta mo omasawa ta, ammo ay manarakon hi anak,*
so if marry we know LK feed OM child
ammo ay manarakon hi asawa.
know LK feed OM wife

43. *Maanowat tay ammok ay manarakon.*
of.course because know.I LK feed

33. And that is why I also say, "You are telling a lie."

34a. No,...well..you cannot deny (that you are doing these things), because it is bad if you get married, and then you still behave the same way after you marry.

34b. Listen.

35. You keep on saying that whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, that I will be there!

36. Yes, that is right!

37. No, I am not always there!

38a. How can you deny it?

38b. You always come home late!

39. No (I am not always late) because we have a sleeping house (and sometimes I go there overnight).

40. You better listen and stop arguing!

41. Where (am I arguing)?

42. So that when we (Bontocs) get married, we need to know how to take care of children and how to take care of a wife.

43. Of course, I already know how.

44. *Ay hokod ta chamman omasawa, haat ta*
 o only so EM marry then we
monnomnom?
 think

45. *Ya hiya met chi!*
 and that EM that

46. *Animay pay mo elarapod wani!*
 good EM if begin, OM now

47. *Monnomnomon nan anak ay matarakon.*
 cause.to.think NM child LK feed

48a. *Ya tay toan.*
 and because no

48b. *Chana nangkila chas cha oy nonomnomon*
 PROG, he see they, OM PROG go think
mo hiyahiyasa.
 if same

48c. *Ay chitanto pay ay chachakchakor mot cha achim*
 Q we EM LK parents your PROG not.you
auforoton mo ya magkorang
 obey if and more

49. *Angkiay sa ya ...?*
 only that and

50a. *Mab-oraya mo omasawa ka.*
 aseless if marry you

50b. *Achim kay at kikiad hi asawak ay cha oy*
 not.you EM IM depend OM wife.my LK PROG LK
mangom-om; ya ta oy omoy ngon oyta manobsobfiat.
 go.to.field and so go go EM we get.sticks

51. *Ya kikiad hiya, tay hiya nan nangimora ay!*
 and depend her because that NM plant EM

52. *Anan ischam?*
 well viand.your

53. *Ya ta ischa ini ah nan tod-i menor-ana.*
 and so viand our OM OM that plant.she

54. *Ahhh, ... mangisiw sa mampay!*
 o evil that EM

44. Is it only when you get married that you think (about this)?

45. Yes, that is right!

46. It is better if you begin (thinking) now!

47. It is the children that cause us to think about taking care of them.

48a. I don't think so.

48b. If you keep on thinking (or doing things) like that, I doubt if you will ever come to your senses.

48c. Even to us your parents, you do not listen and what's more....

49. Is that all...?

50a. It is useless (to talk to you), even if you do get married.

50b. Do not let your wife go to the field alone; if she goes, you have to go along and get sticks.

51. Well, it is up to her, because she is the one who plants!

52. Then how about your viand?

53. Well, we will eat the ones she plants.

54. O,...that is bad!

- 55a. *Kayman Fertig!*
EM Fertig
- 55a. That's right, *Fertig!*
- 55b. *Chongrom sa.*
listen.you that
- 55b. Listen to that.
56. *Ahh*
well
56. Well,....
57. *Magsomikap ka.*
industrious you
57. Be industrious.
58. *Ay chongron nan ifia yo ay anna, "Ta kon kayo*
Q listen NM sibling your LK this so only you
am-in"
all
58. Did you hear what this sibling of yours said, "You are all"
59. *Kayman chakayoy fottang!*
EM you,LK drunkard
59. Yes, you are all drunkards!
60. *Achiyak met fottang!*
not.I EM drunkard
60. I am not a drunkard!
- 61a. *Ay oy achi?*
Q go not
- 61a. You say you are not?
- 61b. *Kon ka komatam on hiyasa?*
only you come.home EM that
- 61b. Even if you come home at this time?
- 61c. *Anan sorsorfictam!*
well foolish
- 61c. How foolish you are!
- 61d. *Angkiay ka kikiad mo achi ka monnomnomnom,*
then you depend you not you think
angkiay anan oyakay cha kakananan kan hea.
then well too.much PROG tell OM you"} }
- 61d. You seem to forget that you are the one who is responsible (for your own actions), and I'm tired of continually reminding you.
- 61e. *Maid paat aforotom hi kanan!*
none EM obey.you OM word
- 61e. You do not obey my word!
62. *Aforotok met am-in nan chayo kakananan!*
obey.I EM all NM PROG,you say
62. I obey all that you are telling me!
- 63a. *Ay achim; kiay kon ka kikiad as cham*
Q not.you then only you depend OM PROG,you
at-aton.
do
- 63a. No, you don't; so you are responsible for what you are doing.
- 63b. *Ay way cha mangetangaw kan heay mangasawa?*
Q EXT PROG like OM you,LK marry
- 63b. Is there anyone who would want to marry you?
- 64a. *Aw wacha mo epapatek ngay challoy omarom!*
no EXT if try.I EM truly,LK court
- 64a. Yes, there will be one, if I try hard to court (her)!

64b. *At wacha challo.*

IM EXT truly

65. *Oray nakodkod!*

even skin.disease

66a. *Oray wacha mampay mo angkiay ya omasawa ta*

even EXT EM if then and marry so

ya cham challo ipoo-pooy nan cham at-at-aton,

and PROG,you truly continue NM PROG,you do

ya anan kanan cha?

and well say they

66b. *Ya anan ...?*

and well

67. *Kikiad kami ay anaka*

depend we LK well

68a. *"Maid tochon ena na, maid tochon ama na,*

none advise mother his none advise father his

maid tochon apo na," kanan cha.

none advise grandparents his say they

68b. *Kiay omepafiafiain kayowat.*

then cause.embarrass you

68c. *Enha kon cha todtotodtotan chakayo.*

see only PROG continue.to.advise,OM you

68d. *Mangan ta, cha todtotan chakayo.*

eat we PROG advise,OM you

68e. *Komatain kayo, cha todtotodtotan chakayo.*

come.home you PROG advise,OM you

68f. *Ya kon kayo challo achi omaforot?*

and only you truly not obey

69a. *Huh!*

yes

69b. *Omaforot kami.*

obey we

70a. *Kon kayo kikiad ay ongong-a mo enha wachay*

only you depend LK children if well EXT.LK

kanan en-aanaka yo nan kanan yo.

say do you NM say you

70b. *Wachas nomnom yo nan anaka etotoray yo.*

EXT think you NM well control you

64b. Surely there will be one (willing to marry me).

65. Yes, one with skin disease!

66a. Even if there will be one (who wants you), when you get married and you keep on doing what you are doing, then what will they say?

66b. And how much...?

67. It is up to us....

68a. "His mother does not advise him, his father does not advise him and his grandparents do not advise him," they will say.

68b. Then you cause (us) embarrassment.

68c. They keep on advising you.

68d. When we eat, they advise you.

68e. When you go home, they advise you.

68f. And you are not obeying?

69a. Yes!

69b. We obey.

70a. Now it is up to you children if you insist on what you say.

70b. You must control your own thoughts.

71. *Ya oray pay kikiad kami.*
and even EM depend we

71. We are the ones who
are responsible.

Appendix: Text 2

1. *Wacha nan hen-asawa ya nan osa-y anak cha.*
EXT NM couple and NM one,LK child their
2. *Nan naoy anak cha anna, laychona paat ay mangitoroy*
NM this child their this like.he EM LK continue
as oswila na.
OM school his
3. *Ngem cha ama na kan ena na, at kanan cha on,*
but PL father his and mother his IM say they QM
"Achi kias-in, tay anoy mangor-an as ongor ay
no never because EM get OM much LK
siping, تنها maprak chi oswilad wani?"
money because expensive NM school,OM now
4. *Onsogsog-ang na ay anak kiapos ammo na ay*
beg he LK child because know he LK
kafiaelan met cha ama na.
can EM PL father his
5. *Ya kon at oy fomongat hi ama na ay mangali on,*
and only IM get angry OM father his LK say QM
"Kok kanan on, maid siping, ya anom man paat epelet
I say QM none money and ?? EM EM force
nan kanam? Mo chakos ko kenali on, maid at maid. Ay
NM word.your if already I say QM none IM none Q
chinngor mo sa?"
hear you that
6. *Yangkiay kayman ya makok-ongiwan nan anak, ya*
then EM and lose.hope NM child and
achi na itoroy nan oswila na asnan hiyachi ay tawwon,
not he continue NM school his OM that LK year
tenha met nan kanan ama na.
because EM NM word father his

1. There was a couple and
their child.

2. Their child, he wanted
to continue going to
school.

3. But his father and his
mother said, "No way, be-
cause how can we get that
much money, since school
is very expensive now?"

4. The child begged and
begged, because he knew
that his father couldn't af-
ford it.

5. But his father got angry
and said, "Didn't I tell
you that I don't have any
money, so why do you per-
sist in asking? I already
said there is none, then
there is none. Do you hear
that?"

6. Then the child lost
hope and did not continue
going to school that year,
since that is what his
father said.

7. *Konpay tenmawwon ya kasin kanan nan anak on,*
after one.year and again say NM child QM
"Fiachanganak man paat ta itoroy koy oswilak."
help.me EM EM so continue I,LK school.my

8. *Ya iyafod kayman nan ama, ya kanana on, "O a,*
and agree EM NM father and say.he QM yes EM
ngein kon od-ay nan choway tawwon nan oswela-om ta
but only agree NM two,LK year NM school.your so
henkemad."
short.while

9. *Yangkiay iyafod nan anak.*
then agree NM child

10. *Kona pay lenpas nan choway tawwon, kanana kasin*
when EM finish NM two,LK year say.he again
on, kasina itoroy as chowa kasin ay tawwon.
QM again.he continue OM two again LK year

11. *Yangkiay achi laychon cha ama na, tay inila*
then not like PL father his because see
cha nan siping ay kinastos na at chamona, tay nan
they NM money LK spend he IM much because NM
laychon cha at mon-anap as chono na.
like they IM seek OM work his

12. *Yangkiay kanan kayman nan anak na, "Mo hiyasa nan*
then say EM NM child he if that NM
kanan yo, at ettanak as kiastowok ay oy mon-anap
word your IM give.me OM money.my LK go seek
as chonok."
OM work.my

13. *Ya ettan ama na ya kona eneeknang.*
and give father his and only.he give.enough

14. *Ya kanan nan anak on, "Kakom man paat tapiapiyan*
and say NM child QM hope EM EM add
tay aton ngay mo achiyak maka-anap ay dagos. Achi
because do EM if not.I can.find LK soon not
a ommat na."
EM enough this

7. After one year, the child again said, "Please help me, so I can continue going to school."

8. And the father agreed and said, "Yes, but your schooling should only be for two years so it will be for a short while."

9. Then the child agreed.

10. When he finished two years, he said again that he would continue two more years.

11. Then his father (and mother) did not like it, because they saw that he spent a lot of money, because what they wanted him to do was look for a job.

12. Then the child said again, "If that is what you say, give me money to spend so I can go and look for my job."

13. And his father gave (him some money), but he gave just enough.

14. And the child said, "Please add some more, because if I will not be able to find a job right away, this is not enough."

15. *Ya kanan nan ama na on, "Hiyasa yangkiay nan*
and say NM father his QM that only NM
mafialin koy ichat. Ommat sa, mo ammom nan atom.
can I,LK give enough that if know.you NM use.you
Kon ngon challo achi kompormis cha laklakwan, ta
only EM EM not anything,OM PROG buy so
kon yangkiay nan paat kasaporan chi aran. Tay
only EM NM EM need NM get because
hiyuchi ya hataat achi mam-enan hi kiastowon."
that and then not disappear OM money

16. *Ya kon tit-iwa angkiay chis inchat na ya chaan*
and only truly then that,OM gave he and did.not
tenapiyan.
add

17. *Kiay ya koon nonnoinnom nan anak ya kanana*
then and probably think NM child and say.he
on, "Awni kayo."
OM wait you

18. *Yangkiay chaan nasolet ya mak-ak nan anak ta oy*
then not long and leave NM child so go
mon-anap as chono na, ya kona at inyinakiw ay
seek OM work his and only.he IM steal LK
nangaras nan am-in ay siping cha.
get NM all LK money their

19. *Ya kon pay chi natapen chi orkiw ya wachay oy*
and only EM NM another GM day and EXT,LK go
lakwan cha ama na kiay hacha at oy elaon ya maid at
buy PL father his then they go see and none IM
am-in nan siping cha ya ongor ai chi totoyo cha ya
all NM money their and much IM NM repent their and
kon taon chacha fomongat ngem maid mafialin cha,
only EM PROG,they angry but none can they
tay mo kon cha chaan inmotan nan inenchat cha
because if only they not stingy NM give they
at chaana enara ami-in.
IM not.he get all

15. And his father said,
 "That is all I can give
 you. That is enough, if
 you know how to use it.
 Do not just buy anything,
 only buy what is neces-
 sary. Because that way we
 will always have enough."

16. And that was truly all
 that he gave and he did
 not add to it.

17. Then the child thought
 and said, "Let me see."

18. Then before long the
 child left to look for his
 job, but he stole all their
 money.

19. And some days later
 his father had something
 to buy, but when they
 went to see (the money),
 their money was gone.
 They were very sorry and
 very angry, but they
 couldn't do anything about
 it, because if they had not
 been so stingy, he
 wouldn't have stolen all of
 it.

20. *Kaman asnan lakian mo komkomom ay kiamaron kon*
 like OM sand if hold.tight LK hold only
cha at oy mayakayak.
 they IM go fall.down

21. *Kon pay mo kon mo tatapayaon at aket nan*
 only when if only if hold.soft IM little NM
mag-as.
 fall.down

22. *At hiyasa nan kanak kan chitako ay chachakchakor*
 IM that NM say.I OM us LK parents
on, "Achi tako imotan as makasolet nan an-ak tako.
 OM not we selfish OM much NM children our
Mo ammo tako ay pagkiawesan cha. Tay enha mo oy
 if know we LK betterment their because see if go
tako imotan, at kaman takowat oy ichorchor chicha ay
 we selfish IM like we go force them LK
monnomnom hi mangisiw." Hatakowat cha oy
 think OM evil then.we PROG go
kankanan on, "Ayodchi sas cha oy at-aton chi
 say OM why that PROG go do NM
ongong-a?"
 children

20. Like sand, if you grasp it tightly, it will slip (out of your hand).

21. But if you hold it lightly, only a little bit will slip (out of your hand).

22. So that is what I say to all of us parents, "Let us not be selfish with our children, if we know that we have means to help them. Because if we are selfish, we are forcing them to think evil things." Then we ask, "Why are the children doing that?"

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